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dollar out of paper or out of seventy-odd cents worth of silver. Men possessing these qualifications belong indisputably to the majority, and if we confine the privilege of voting exclusively to them we carry out the theory of our government and cut off that meaningless excrescence, the voting of the minority.

This, then, is the change which should be made if we wish to be consistent upholders of universal suffrage. The more earnestly we believe in universal suffrage, the more earnestly we ought to try to limit the exercise of suffrage to the ignorant. This may seem a paradox, but it is a great political truth. We have built our government on the broad principle that the ignorant shall rule the intelligent. Let us show ourselves consistent by relieving the intelligent of the fruitless burden of voting.

W. L. ALDEN.

#### IV.

##### HALLS FOR PUBLIC MEETINGS.

It is eminently desirable that in every city there should be one great hall capable of holding such numbers of citizens as usually attend out-of-door assemblies, and that the cost of hiring of such hall should be moderate. But moderate cost is a thing unattainable if the hall be reserved for public meetings only; it must be employed for other purposes. Now every considerable city needs a commercial exchange of one kind or another—some great centre for the transaction of business on a large scale. So too every city needs a theatre, concert-hall, or what not. If one public hall could be used for these several purposes, its hire one evening for a public meeting, a theatrical exhibition, an operatic performance, etc., need not cost, as it does now, as much as will pay for many days the interest on the capital invested in its construction. Probably no great public hall in any of our cities is ever used, on the average, oftener than three nights in a week. Thus three nights a week must pay the expenses of the building during seven days and nights. But let one of the "exchanges" (or more than one) occupy the hall daily during business hours—10 to 3. Then let it be used for lectures, theatrical exhibitions, public meetings during the evenings, and on Sundays morning and evening for religious meetings or sacred concerts or lectures, and the burden of expense to be borne by each of these part-tenants, will be comparatively light. Of course the project is not free from problems and difficulties, but a competent architect may be trusted to meet these and to overcome them, planning an interior that will serve equally well for all purposes. After the architect has done his part, Yankee ingenuity will provide a way of transforming almost instantaneously the "bear garden" of the exchange into the theatre auditorium, or into the place of religious assembly. The certainty of adequate income from a structure of this kind would justify the most liberal expenditure for an absolutely fire-proof building.

J. F. G. JAMESON.

#### V.

##### "COMMUNISM AND PROTECTION."

THE February edition of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW published an article entitled "Communism and Protection," by W. M. Fishback, in which the following extraordinary conjunction was made:

"Communism, Socialism, *Henry Georgeism*, and all that family of dogmas, have . . . one common essential principle: That it is the right and duty of Government to seize, by law, the fruits of the labor of one man and divide them with others."

It is a difficult undertaking to dispel the dense popular ignorance on any economic problem, but when this has linked with it deliberate misrepresentation the task is herculean.

The assertion that "Henry Georgeism" aims at the taking of the fruits of one man's labor and transferring them to others is, to say the least, laughable, since its purpose is to defend that very right. Mr. George states his position clearly in "Progress and Poverty," Chap. I., Book VII.: "As a man belongs to himself, so his labor when put in concrete form belongs to him. And for this reason, that which a man makes or produces is his own, as against all the world—to enjoy or to destroy, to use, to exchange, or to give. No one else can rightfully claim it, and his exclusive right to it involves no wrong to any one else."

Taking part of the product of a man's labor as rent for the mere privilege of using the natural bounties, is a negation of this proposition, and, therefore, Mr. George maintains that it is unjust. And Mr. George is not alone in this position. Dugald Stewart, in his "Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers of Man," which work was accepted as a text-book for Yale College in the 50's and 60's, and perhaps is used yet, says, Sec. III., Art. 1: "The right of property. The following observations on the *right of property* are introduced here chiefly with a view to show that men possess rights antecedent to the establishment of the political union. It cannot, I apprehend, be doubted that, according to the notions to which we, in the present state of society, are habituated from our infancy, the three following things are included in the idea of property: 1. A right of exclusive enjoyment. 2. A right of inquiry after our property, when taken away without our consent, and of reclaiming it wherever found. 3. A right of transference. We do not consider our property in any object to be complete unless we can exercise all these three rights with respect to it.

"Let us suppose, then, a country so fertile as to produce all the necessaries and accommodations of life, without any exertions of human industry; it is manifest that, in such a state of things, no man would think of appropriating to himself any of these necessaries or accommodations, any more than we, in this part of the globe, think of appropriating air or water. As this, however, is not, in any part of the earth, the condition of man—doomed, as he is, by the circumstances of his birth, to eat his bread in the sweat of his brow—it would be reasonable, *a priori*, that Nature would make some provision for securing to individuals the fruits of their industry. In fact, she has made such a provision in the natural sentiment of mankind, which leads them to consider industry as entitled to reward, and, in particular, the laborer as entitled to the fruit of his own labor. These, I think, may be fairly stated as *moral axioms* to which the mind yields its assent as immediately and necessarily as it does to any axiom in mathematics or metaphysics.

"This sentiment, that 'the laborer deserves the fruit of his own labor,' is the *chief*, or rather (abstracting positive institution), the *only* foundation of the sense of property. An attempt to deprive him of it is a species of *injustice* which rouses the indignation of every impartial spectator.

"In order to think with accuracy on this subject, it is necessary to distinguish carefully the *complete* right of property which is founded on *labor*, from the *transient* right of possession which is acquired by mere *priority of occupancy*."

The general conclusions which I deduce from the foregoing observations are these:

1. That, in every state of society, *labor*, wherever it is exerted, is understood to found a right of property.
2. That, according to natural law, labor is the *only* original way of acquiring property.

3. That, according to natural law, mere *occupancy* founds only a *right of possession*, and that, wherever it founds a complete *right of property*, it owes its force to *positive institutions*.

BENJ. DOBLIN.

## VI.

### THE HOLIDAY HALLUCINATION.

AMERICANS in former times were much accused of being too serious, and of taking their few vacations and their pleasures grimly and sadly. Very often they were compared to their disadvantage with the people of other nations, who had frequent holidays, and who have the art, which we were charged with lacking, of thoroughly knowing how to enjoy themselves. This general complaint was a favorite editorial topic twenty years ago. It was a part of the argument to refer then to the continent of Europe for proof of a superior gayety and more natural expression of joy, and to England itself where sports are nationalized and made institutions, and where even the august Parliament adjourns for participation in the pleasures of a horserace. The traditions of a strait-laced Puritanism, and the fierce struggle engendered by the hurry and hunger of money-getting, to say nothing of the extra "go" given us by our climate, were adduced to account for this renunciation of pleasure. No end was there of homilies read to us on these solemn habits of ours, which were supposed to make us a thin-faced and nervous race, when compared with the plump, ruddy Englishman, from whose ancestors our New England stock descended.

But since the close of the Civil War there has been a great change in our work-day time. The old holidays have not only been more formally observed, but many new holidays have now been added and legally enforced. The better observance of Christmas and New Years has not only been marked by all classes, but the half of December in our large cities and towns gives many people a vacation, and turns nearly every business aside or makes a multitude of businesses put on a holiday costume, and cater directly to the long holiday trade. Not only so, but the political deference now so universally paid to labor and the laborer, has in this State created a weekly half-holiday, the influence and observance of which have not stopped with the boundaries of New York. It will certainly surprise the reader, who has not paused to think of it, to be told exactly what a subtraction has been lately made by the holiday rage from our real working time. If it is to remain, and is to have any influence on the health and happiness of the community, we ought soon to be the highest spirited and most rested people on the face of the earth, where barbarism and oriental ease do not make the exception.

If we add to our fifty-two Sundays the twenty-six half Saturdays, and to these New Years, Washington's Birthday, Memorial Day, the Fourth of July, Labor Day, Thanksgiving and Christmas, we find that eighty-five days of our calendar are consecrated to the suspension of toil. This is nearly *three months of time*; and, if we should add to this holiday or recreation period, Good Friday, and other similarly half-observed days, and the election days, on some of which banks and public exchanges are regularly closed, we shall see that a *full quarter of the year* is now practically made unproductive time. What effect all this, together with the influence of the eight-hour law where it exists by statute, is to have on wages and prices eventually, it is perhaps too early to tell. But it must have some; and, the positive detriment which much of our business suffers from the fact that the loss of the half of Saturday amounts, in effect, to serious destruction of the remaining half (particularly with banks and the money and